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ABSTRACT

The Soviet Union (USSR) is an immense multinational and multilingual country. At the time of the Revolution (1917) there were 150 national languages spoken in the USSR and 180 recognized linguistic groups, however, 70% of the total population of the USSR was illiterate and the literacy rate of the Middle Asia varied from 1% to 5%. After 1917, mass education was commenced with minorities given the right to be educated in their mother tongue. In 1938 Russian was made a compulsory language that was required to be taught in all schools. Bilingual education proceeded with students of as many as thirty nationalities attending one school and twenty-two different languages being taught in another. In the national schools of the various republics, students were taught in their national tongue, with Russian taught as a second language. In the Russian-medium schools, found in various republics, Russian was the primary language of instruction with the students' native tongue being either taught as a second language or used as a second language of instruction. Through bilingual education the USSR has overcome illiteracy, destroyed racial and linguistic groups and provided a common means of communication. (Author)

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THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SOVIET UNION

Bilingual education in the Soviet Union has been a complex educational process that was necessary to make it possible for people of many different nationalities to work and live together. To fully comprehend the immesity of the undertaking of bilingual education, together with its problems and achievements, requires knowledge of the geographical area of the Soviet Union, its history, political formation and its many diverse cultures.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, commonly referred to as the USSR and often mistakenly referred to as "Russia", is an immense multilingual, multinational and multicultural state consisting of approximately 180 different linguistic groups.[1] The area of the USSR is 8,650,000 square miles, which is equal in size to the total areas of Canada, Mexico and the United States.

The Soviet Union consists of 15 autonomous republics and many autonomous regions and national areas. The autonomous republics of the USSR are: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, commonly referred to as the Russian SFSR or the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Uzbeck SSR, Kazakh SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaydzhan SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, Kirgiz SSR, Tadzhik SSR, Armenian SSR, Turkmen SSR and Estonian SSR. These autonomous republics represent separate countries which at different points of time in history came under the domination of Imperial Russia. Today these republics have their own local governments and elect their own officials; however, each

1. Lewis, E. Glyn: Multilingualism In The Soviet Union, p. 6

republic is subject to the Constitution of the Soviet which is the supreme law.

There are numerous autonomous regions in the USSR. These regions are generally identified with the ethnic group that is predominant in the area. Examples of these regions are the Tartar ASSR lying northeast of Volgograd, the Mongol ASSR located north of Mongolia and the Jewish Autonomous region which is north of the Amur River and Manchuria. The autonomous regions, together with designated national areas, exist to provide an identifiable territorial interest in the Soviet for each of the major ethnic groups.

Russian is the only official language for the USSR. Russian is also the national language of the Russian SFSR which is the largest republic both in area and population; however, each of the republics also has a language that is official in the sense that it is the national language of the republic. In the field of education many republics have additional languages which are official for teaching minority ethnic groups that are indigenous to the Republic.

In 1926, 150 national languages were officially recognized in the USSR. Soviet publications in 1927 indicated the existence of upwards of 169 languages. In 1970 the Soviet Census was conducted on a basis of 122 recognized nationalities; however, papers were printed in over 122 national and minority languages.[2] The decline in the number of nationalities officially recognized could well be the result of consolidation and assimilation of the people of the USSR.

2. Ibid, P. 24-25.

The Soviet Union has a population of 255,000,000 people with many cultural differences existing among them. The Western USSR lies in Eastern Europe with its population being predominately Slavic, Jewish and Nordic races. South Central USSR is situated in middle Asia, adjoining Iran and Afghanistan, with the majority of its population being of the Muslim faith. Eastern USSR adjoins China and Mongolia and is influenced by the Mongolian culture. In the northeast area of Siberia inhabitants exist with a culture which is in some respects similar to the culture of the Indians and Eskimos of North America which lies approximately 200 miles to the west across the Bering Straits.

LINGUISTIC PATTERNS OF THE USSR.

The nomenclature of the writers in their attempt to classify different linguistic groups of the USSR differs significantly. Lewis, E. Glyn in his 1972 publication "Multilingualism in the Soviet Union" proposes eighty-five language groups by name and area. Matthews in his "Languages of the USSR" identified some ninety groups. Matthews, as authority, offers an impressive bibliography of early European and Russian authors; Lewis, in turn, indicates that his work has been based on the later Soviet scholars.

As described by Matthews, the linguistic pattern of the USSR has five language stocks, Uralian, Altaic, North Caucasian, South Caucasian and Indo-European, each with a generic basis. An additional language complex exists that has been termed Palaeoasiatic.[1]

1. Matthews, William Kleesman: Languages of the USSR p. 1

The most extensive of these stocks, Indo-European, has been divided into four language groups: (1) Baltic, which includes the Baltic Republics of Latvia and Lithuania; (2) Slavonic, which includes Russia, White Russia, (Belorussia), and the Ukraine; (3) Armenian, which includes the Armenian SSR, and (4) Iranic, which includes Ossetic, Talysh, Tajiki, Tat and Pamiri group.

As to these Indo-European groups, Lewis designated the Baltic group by the name "Lettic", adds Polish and Bulgar to the Slavic group, adds Germanic as a group for the German population of the Soviet Union and Romance as a group for the Moldavians and Rumanians.

The Uralian languages,which have no gender and make up no formal differences between nouns and adjectives, are divided by Matthews into three branches: Samoyedic, Ugrian and Finnic. The West Finnic group includes the languages of the Estonian SSR, the former Finnish territory, Karelian ASSR, Levonian, spoken in a small fishing village of Latvia, Lappish, spoken in the area of Kola Peninsula, lying in the northwest, Vepsian, spoken in the area of Lake Onega and to the north and west, and Vodin which is confined to some 500 people near the Luga Estuary in the northwest portion of the Leningrad Province. The East-Finnic group includes Zyryan spoken in the Komi-Permyak National area, Votyak spoken in the Udmurt ASSR, Cheremiss spoken in the Mari ASSR, and Mordvin spoken in Mordvinian ASSR. Five types of Samoyedic are spoken by norther nomadic tribes from the Kola Peninsula eastward to the

Khatang Gulf, lying east of the Taimyr Peninsula. The Ugrian Group includes the Ostyaks and Voguls that inhabit Western Siberia. Vogul, though only spoken by 6,000 people, has seven dialects.

The Altaic languages have three branches: Manchurian, Mongolian and Turkic. Of the three branches Manchurian, or Tungusic, is the eastern most and least significant. The Manchurian languages consist of Tungus, Tamut, Gold and Ude. Tungus, Lamut and Gold literature came into being after the Revolution when alphabets were formed and readers and primers issued.[2] The USSR has representatives of two of the Mongolian language groups: Buryat and Kalmyk which are spoken by close to one-half million people. Turkic is the largest branch of the Altaic group. In 1926 there were thirty-nine million Turkic speakers and more than one-half of them lived in the USSR, inhabiting the areas of Siberia, Middle Asia, South and East Russia and the Caucasus.

The North Caucasian language groups are divided into north-east and north-west Caucasian. These groups consist of approximately fifteen languages, many in very limited use, one of which is spoken only in one village and another is spoken in two villages.

The South Caucasian language group consists of four languages, the principal language being Georgian. Of these four languages, Georgian was the only language that had a literary culture prior to 1920. Since 1920 all South Caucasian languages have received an alphabet and literary language.

The Palaeoasiatic languages comprise a group of eight

2. Ibid p. 97

languages that are used in the Far Eastern USSR from the Artic Ocean to Korea. One of the languages, Yukagir, which is the most northerly, is the mother tongue for less than five hundred people. The languages of "Gilyak" and "Ainu" have characteristics of the Eskimo and Indian languages of North America.[3] Each of the languages has a common word for "mother" which is also found in Korean and Japanese.[4]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE USSR.

Prior to the Revolution of 1917, the Tsars of Imperial Russian practiced a policy of ruthless suppression of the national minorities. This suppression blocked the development of national languages and the minority ethnic groups that were non-Russian in origin were denied education in their native tongue and frequently were denied all education.[1] Consequently, at the time of the Revolution, 70% of the total population of Imperial Russia was illiterate, with the literacy rate in Middle Asia varying from 1% to 5%.[2] The effects of the Tsars' policy were so devasting that forty-eight nationalities had no written language, and bilingual education was strictly reserved for the elite.[3]

3. Ibid p. 9
4. Ibid p. 13
1. Lewis, Op cit, p. 18
2. Von Malitz, Frances Willard: Living and Learning In Two Languages, p. 110
3. USSR Education, Novosti Press Agency, Moscow p. 5

To educate the minority ethnic groups written forms of language were created for at least forty nationalities.[4] The alphabets of the written languages that existed in the areas involved were frequently too complicated to be used in creating a new written language. For example, in Middle Asia, there were only three languages of literacy: Arabic, Persian and Chagatay. The Arabic scripts had a great many symbols, many of which appeared similar in character. These scripts were complicated, difficult to learn and ill adapted to the spoken languages that needed a written form.[5]

An additional fact involved was the necessity of the standardization of alphabets which arose from the committment to a process of social and industrial mobilization and the drive towards a system of mass education. This factor led to Latin being initially adopted as the uniform base for such new languages. Cyrillic was later substituted in place of Latin as the uniform base. At the time of the substitution, the Cyrillic alphabet had undergone changes. Four letters of the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet had been dropped, reducing the vowels from eleven to nine and the total number of symbols in the alphabet from thirty-five to thirty-one. By this means, with minor exception, the spelling of the Russian language became completely phonetic.[6]

4. V. Zhamin, Education in the USSR: Its Economy and Structure, p. 11
5. Baziev Isaev: Language and Nation p. 110
6. Von Malitz, Op Cit. p. 110

After the Revolution of 1917 the Constitution of the USSR guaranteed everyone the right to be taught in their native tongue. This led to bilingual education for the masses. In 1938 Russian was made a compulsory subject in all schools, and bilingual education became more intensive.[7] The combined result has been the education of minority nationalities in the USSR to where they have fluent knowledge of Russian and at the same time, fluent knowledge of their Mother tongue.

The decision to have a uniform basis for alphabets extended beyond the new forms of language to be created. By 1940 more than 68 languages had been provided with Cyrillic scripts and twenty-five million non-Russians were able to use them. The providing of such alphabets made it easier for minority groups to learn Russian and has been described as the main contribution towards literacy.

The creation of the new alphabets meant that the national languages were for the first time in many centuries able to compete with Russian. They could be used in schools and become the foundation for a different kind of bilingualism than had previously existed - literate bilingualism. Soviet linguists are still working on improving the mutual intelligibility of the written languages, more particularly the Turkic group, by eradicating the differences between the various Cyrillic-Turkic alphabets.[8]

One of the current theoretical linguistic issues being widely discussed by Soviet linguists is the question of unification

7. Lewis, Op Cit, p. 183
8. V. A. Kumanev: Revolution and Mass Education p. 187

of the alphabets, orthography and terminology of the people of the USSR. There are dozens of projects being published and discussed. Some experts suggest that only related languages could be unified. In this regard, much has been done concerning the Turkic languages. Others have advocated the total unification of all existing alphabets of the Soviet Union; this viewpoint has been proved to be impractical. Soviet linguist E. Ubratova writes that unification of the alphabets is practical and justified only in that case where due to the closeness of the languages it results in providing a greater mutual understanding.[9]

Due to the many languages spoken in the Soviet Union, borrowing is an important subject for research. In most cases borrowing is from Russian to other national languages and seldom to Russian from other national languages. The phonetic system of the Turkic languages has been enriched by new vowels and consonants. New consonental phonemes have been introduced into Turkic, Caucasian and other languages; previously unknown consonants such as /f/, /v/ and /ts/ are now included because of the influence of Russian loan words.[10]

Whatever the impact of Russian on this process, it has not prevented the various languages from developing their own resources. This is exemplified by the case of Lithuanian wherein the Russian influence has tended not only to provide an excessive amount of loans but equally, to develop new ways of exploiting the native

9. Baziev Isaev, Op Cit, p. 143
10. Ibid, p. 140

resources. For instance, Lithuanian follows in its own way the useful Russian practice of forming abbreviations and contractions. From "spec", the Russian abbreviation for "specialist" the Lithuanian counterpart "specas" has created several forms such as "speseminaras", special seminar, and "speckurius" - special division. Other Lithuanian words have developed, mainly because of Russian influence, new more specialized meanings while retaining their traditional ones. For instance, the verb "uzastrinti" - to sharpen, has come to acquire an abstract or metaphoric meaning on the lines of Russian "zaostrit" - to refine or to stress an argument.[11]

One matter of interest is the development of increasing diglossia within several of the non-Russian languages. Changes in orthography, although they have modified the written form of some languages, have not always led to phonetic changes. Thus long vowels are no longer identified in written Turkmen, but they persist in the spoken language.

Instances of diglossia also exist in Tadzhic, where the standard written language is mainly based on the classical language and there exist identifiable groups of regional dialects among which are "high" and "low" variants. This is also becoming more and more the case in Uzbek where the written standard based on urban dialects around Tashkent is used in teaching, in all publications and in the official or formal communication; but the non-urban dialects are often the media of conversation and

11. Lewis, Op cit, p. 173

and casual private communication. The same local dialects are the ones which are heard in the shops and in the playground.

An interesting example of diglossia occurs in Armenia, where, in addition to the two standard dialect variations, there is also Church Armenian, which is "archaic standard" in very limited use.

EDUCATION IN THE USSR.

Compulsory education exists in the USSR for all children through the age of seventeen and includes education from the first through the tenth grades.

Pre-school or kindergarten, is for children who vary in age from a few months to the age of seven. Such schools are basically separate from the secondary school system. The first through the third grades are considered primary, or elementary, grades with secondary schooling continuing through the tenth grade.

Secondary education is offered by three basic types of educational institutions: (1) general education schools, (2) specialized secondary schools, and (3) vocational schools. General educational schools provide the mandatory schooling of the first through tenth grades as a general education. Specialized secondary schools provide training in more than 450 specialties such as mathematics, languages and mining or dental technicians; these schools also provide a complete general education on a secondary level. Vocational schools enroll pupils who have

at least eight years of general education and provide training in over 1100 trades and occupations.[1] Many of the vocational schools also provide instruction so that the student obtains a complete secondary education qualifying the student for entrance at higher educational establishments.

The certificate of completion of any secondary school makes its holder eligible for admission to any college or university. However, only the most capable or best prepared applicants are admitted. Admission is based on the scoring during competitive examinations with the grades the student received in school also taken into consideration.[2] Higher education is also encouraged by a system of part-time education made up of numerous evening and corespondence colleges. Most of the students taking such courses are people working in industry or on the collective farms and they receive annual supplementary paid leaves to do their laboratory work and to prepare for and take their examinations.

Education in all secondary schools and all schools of higher learning is free. In addition, many students with low family budgets receive grants or other material assistance. In pre-schools where children are boarded during the day, due to the parents working, a charge is made which varies with the parents' ability to pay. The charge is generally about one-fifth of the state's cost for boarding and caring for the child and will vary from six to twelve roubles a month. When children are

1. USSR Education, Op cit, p. 58
2. V. Yelyutin: Higher Education in the USSR, p. 35

boarded in forest schools which are maintained for health reasons, the state absorbs the entire expense and there is no charge to the parents.

TYPES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The policy of the Soviet Union which gave students the right to be educated in their mother tongue had led to the creation of bilingual and multilingual schools, with more than one language of instruction where necessary, rather than separate schools with a single teaching language. The non-Russian students' mother tongue was generally the primary language of instruction, with Russian being taught as a second language. In 1938 Russian, which was the mother tongue for more than one-half of the inhabitants of the USSR, was made a compulsory subject for all schools, commencing with the first grade. This compulsory requirement established Russian as the official medium of communication between the many different nationalities of the Soviet Union.

In respect to language of instruction, the secondary schools of the USSR are divided into three principal types: Russian schools, national schools, and minority schools. Russian schools are in turn subdivided into the following three types:

1. "Single" Russian schools where instruction is in Russian and another language, either national or minority, is taught as a second language.

2. "Mixed" Russian schools where more than one language, Russian, and any national or minority language, is used to teach the subjects during the same lesson; however, both languages will not necessarily be used to teach all subjects.

3. "Parallel" Russian schools where more than one language of instruction is used, that is, the children are taught in Russian and an additional language; however, as to the additional language, the students are divided into separate language groups and each group is taught only in their native tongue.

National schools consist of the schools of a republic that teach their students in the Republic's national language and teach Russian as a second language.

Minority schools are in principle similar to the National schools except that, instead of providing education for the majority ethnic population of a republic, the schools provide education for the minority ethnic groups within the republic. In such schools instruction is in the minority group's national language rather than in the national language of the republic.

Teaching of foreign languages, although it would not normally be included in a study of bilingual education in the accepted sense of the term, is becoming an integral part of Soviet-type bilingualism. In the general education schools,

foreign language is taught commencing with the fifth grade. In addition, special foreign language schools have been created within the last 15 years wherein the foreign language is taught beginning with the first grade. Frequently instruction as to the foreign language will commence earlier when the child is three to four years of age and in preschool. In such special schools many of the subjects are taught in both languages. While visiting such a school, a foreigner would find conversation with fourth graders to be relatively easy and, except for the topic, in conversing with seventh graders one could easily forget that he is talking to a student who is speaking a foreign language.

The languages taught in the secondary schools vary with the republics and the regions and are to a great extent dependent upon the cultural and ethnic groups that are predominate in the republic or region in which the school is located. In the city of Kzyl-Orda, in Kazakhastan, the Saken Seifuillin School has students of 30 nationalities,[1] whereas, in the city of Tallin, capitol of the Estonian SSR, students of a great many nationalities are not encountered. The difference in the number of nationalities found in a school is affected by the cultural, historical and political differences between the areas.

During the developing periods of 1938-1939, Uzbekistan, which adjoins Kazakhstan on the south, maintained minority

1. Lewis, Op cit, p. 195

schools where instruction was conducted in 22 languates. Presently, the minority schools of Uzbekistan provide instruction in the republic's national language, Russian, and in the language of the neighboring republics of Kirgizia, Turkmenistan, Tadzikistan and Kazakhstan. As many as four languages are taught in one school.[2] There has been a decline in the minority schools which is partially the result of better means of education provided by Russian schools.

Parents, subject to the requirement that Russian will at least be taught as a second language, have the choice of the type of school the child will attend and the languages in which the child will be educated. This choice of the parents and the many benefits of the Russian school have been a factor in the decline of the minority language schools in the various republics. There are many considerations that are involved in the decision of the parents in selecting the school and language in which their child will be educated.

Education in the Russian schools has the effect of enrolling the student in a curriculum that provides for more effective instruction in Russian at an earlier age with the result of the student ultimately achieving a higher proficiency in Russian. A large part of the curriculum in higher education is by necessity conducted in Russian, thus such proficiency in Russian is desirable both from the point of attending a university or other school of advanced education and in fulfilling the requirement of taking the entrance examinations required

2. Ibid, P. 191

prior to acceptance in such institutions. Competence in Russian has many other benefits in the USSR, such as in the scientific and engineering fields where technical data is more universally published in Russian. Likewise, although publication is made in more than 100 languages and television broadcasts made in many languages, the greater mass of news media is published in Russian and the greater number of television programs are produced and televised in Russian.

The immigration of ethnic groups from one republic to another has also had a significant effect in reducing the desire for education in minority schools. Where such families immigrate to other republics where they become minorities, education in their mother language no longer is a great benefit to them, and any such benefit is generally outweighed by the many benefits of the Russian schools. In this manner the shift of populations depresses the status of national languages. In immigrating to another republic, the family also has the opportunity to be educated in the national language of the republic to which it is has immigrated; however, unless close cultural, ethnic or linguistic ties exist and influence the family toward education in the national language of the republic, education in the Russian schools offers the greater advantage.

The need for the minority schools has also declined due to consolidation and assimilation of the people of the USSR. In many instances, small ethnic groups, including clans and

tribal groups, have adopted the culture and customs of the larger ethnic group or nationalities among whom they resided and no longer hold themselves out independently of the larger ethnic group of nationality. For example, intensive ethnic processes have taken place among the multinational population of Middle Asia. The predominant national speaking populations of the Republics of Uzbek and Tadzik have been increasing as a result of the absorption of smaller minority ethnic groups such as the Middle Asian Gypsies and Arabs who have partially lost their former native tongues and gradually adopted the language of the Uzbecks and Tadjiks as their native tongue.[3] This assimilation process if the result of the mobility of the population and intensification of their internal ties, including the growing number of mixed marriages which have occurred with the elimination of nationalistic and religious prejudices.

Although Russian is taught as a mandatory second language in the USSR, it is in fact a third language to many in the traditional bilingual areas. In 1970, 43.5 percent of the Tsukhurs, 36.2 percent of the Kurds, and 28.8 percent of the Jews spoke a second language of the USSR, other than Russian, whereas, only 3 percent of the Russians spoke two languages in addition to their native tongue.[4] From the 1970 census of the USSR, indicating the various languages spoken, it appears that nationalities with a million or more members do not generally

3. Baziev Isaev, Op cit, P. 150
4. Lewis, Op cit, P.44

extend themselves to learn a second Soviet language other than Russian. The above figures do not take into account those who also speak a foreign language.

The teaching of foreign languages is of ever increasing importance due to the Soviet Union's expansions in the field of science, tourist trade and world commerce.

In the field of science and engineering, foreign languages are important for the translation of publications and specifications either to Russian, or from Russian to such foreign language as may be required. In such technical translations, the requirements of the translator are so precise that the translator is not only educated as an expert in the language required, he is also educated to be an expert in the field the publication or specification involves. For example, if the matter to be translated was technical engineering material printed in English, the translator would not only be an expert educated in the English language, he would also be a graduate engineer.

The Soviet Union has an endless number of attractions, many of which are unequalled any place in the world. Most of these attractions have been carefully preserved for the Soviet people, and since 1955 the Soviet Union has been continuously increasing its tourist trade. The tourist trade requires a massive and ever increasing number of foreign speaking personnel in customs, transportation, both ground and air, hotels, banking

and information and guide centers. One traveling in the Soviet Union will appreciate the quality of the translation available, along with the low rate at which group or individual guides and interpreters are provided.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

The major problem that has confronted Soviet educators is the training of teachers of the various nationalities so that they will be competent in Russian and able to teach subjects in the national languages other than Russian.

The USSR has provided bilingual education for even the smallest ethnic groups in the Union. Among these ethnic groups are the tribes of the far North and Siberia. Difficulty in providing bilingual education for these groups arose from the fact that they resided in almost inaccessible areas and their poor educational background made it difficult to recruit student teachers from those groups. In 1949 more than 50 percent of the teachers in the schools of the far North had to be recruited from outside the area.[1] In order to attract more teachers to the far North a bonus amounting from 20 to 50 percent of their basic salary has been established; however, the bonus alone was insufficient as the area required teachers who could withstand its harsh conditions. By 1960 it was established that a hundred students, five from each main northern nationality, should be admitted each year to the Institute of the Peoples of the North

1. Lewis, Op cit, P. 186.

which is both a research center and a teacher training college. Those admitted are tenth grade students and receive a three year academic course followed by two years' professional training. The students from the North also have a chance to continue their education for another year during which they perfect their knowledge of either Russian, appropriate national language, or the language of the minority groups.[2]

In the national schools the main problem is the shortage of teachers to teach Russian as a second language. Teachers of Russian origin are more desirable; however, there are not sufficient teachers available. At the Institute of the Peoples of the North the teachers are also trained to teach Russian as a second language. Summer courses are organized for the students of lower grades with the intention of improving their competence in Russian and to enable the teachers themselves to experiment with and to develop new teaching techniques and materials.

Russian language societies also exist in each school and assist the teachers who have difficulties in Russian.

The teaching of children of other nationalities is the concern of the "Scientific Research Institute of the Nationality Schools" of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The institute was established in 1949 for the purpose of studying methods of teaching both Russian and other national languages.

Although the functions of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR do not extend automatically to other Union

2. Peoples Education in the USSR: Prosveshenie Moscow, p. 316

Republics, it cooperates closely with associated institutes elsewhere such as the Tashkent Institute in Uzbekistan, the Tbilisi Institute in Georgia and others. These institutes study the problems of minority linguistic groups, prepare textbooks for teaching the various languages, as first and second languages, and publish selected vocabularies. They also adapt textbooks in Russian on a variety of subjects of the curriculum for teaching in other national languages.

RESULTS ACHIEVED IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE USSR

The USSR has used bilingual education to destroy racial and linguistic prejudices and to foster mutual respect among different linguistic groups. As a result of such education, people with great differences in economic development and social structure, such as the European and Asian populaces of the USSR, have been able to live and effectively work and create together.

The teaching of Russian as either a first or second language has provided a means for a comparable education wherein different nationalities exist in a region. Likewise, such teaching has provided a foundation whereby a student is equipped to work in any republic or region of the USSR.

The providing of the non-Russian ethnic groups of the USSR with the right to their primary education in their mother language has maintained and preserved for such groups the right, dignity, pride and benefits of their heritage. Among

other benefits, the providing of such groups with an education in Russian as either a first or second language equips such groups with a better means of working and advancing in scientific fields, the availability of the majority of Soviet news media and television and with the benefits of reading and understanding the prestigious pre-revolution Russian literature.

By use of bilingual education the Soviet Union has bridged the differences previously existing between the approximately 120 national groups, with greatly divergent cultures, residing in the 15 republics and many regions in the USSR. Whereas, among the remaining European nations which have only a fraction of the number of linguistic or ethnic groups, no common language or basis for understanding exists. Therefore, the same conflicts, problems and aggression which have existed for centuries between the remaining nations are still present.

The necessity of providing education in the mother tongue, due to national pride, cohesion and instincts of the various ethnic groups, is best demonstrated by the circumstances that exist where the same ethnic groups have settled in foreign countries.

The town of Canora in the province of Saskatchewan, Canada, was founded during the latter part of the 19th century by immigrants from the Ukraine. The immigrants consisted of an entire village of approximately 40 families that moved together from Southern Ukraine to Canada. These villagers

were attracted to Canada by the offers of land to immigrants for homesteading. On arrival these villagers from the Ukraine homesteaded a great many thousand acres of farm land and the survivors and their descendants have become wealthy farmers. Irrespective of their success and their moving to another country in a different hemisphere, these Ukranians and their descendants maintain the same culture, form of attire and language that they maintained prior to their departure from the Ukraine.

These farmers own vast areas of land and farm their land with modern equipment and machinery. However, they still build their homes in the style they built them in the Ukraine, using mud and straw as building materials. They provide their own schools which instruct in the Ukranian mother tongue and now teach English. By the time the student is 12 he can read or write English but will speak it with a heavy accent. This is an improvement in instruction. Thirty years ago less than one-half of the studentslearned to read, write or speak English, even though English was a compulsory subject under Canadian law.

The Canadian government has not been as successful with the Dukhobors. The Dukhobors, who are named after the area of Russia from which they came, separated from the Russian Orthodox Church and in 1899 about 7,000 of them immigrated to Canada. These immigrants also homesteaded large areas of land and a

great number of them settled in the outskirts of Canora, forming a community of their own. They still maintain their former Russian culture, form of attire and language. The Dukhobors refuse to mix with their neighbors of Ukranian ancestry, to teach English in their schools or marry outside of those of their belief. They speak only the Russian language, rejecting others.

Strong national instincts have played important roles in preserving the language and former life style of both the Ukranians and Russian residents of Canora. The residents of Canora cannot in many respects be considered typical of the same ethnic groups in the USSR; however, their adherence to traditions and clinging to the tongue of their national origin clearly demonstrates the traits and feelings that exemplify the importance of bilingual education. This adherence also indicates the problems that would have confronted the USSR had they not pursued bilingual education and effectively achieved a good working relationship and understanding between the many ethnic groups of the USSR.

Considering the multilingual, multinational and multicultural aspects of the USSR along with the illiteracy that existed at the time of the Revolution, the problems of bilingual education appear unsurmountable; however, illiteracy has been overcome and bilingual education has successfully brought the country together as a single unit. This success has been the

result of years of work and sacrifice on the part of the educators of the USSR. However, the results are an outstanding memorial to their efforts. The achievements of bilingual education have placed the country in a position whereby it can proceed forward at an ever increasing rate and compete in any field.

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